

SOCIALISM
Is the public ownership and democratic operation of all utilities, services and enterprises that are public in their nature.

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OUR PURPOSE
Is to teach Socialism and organize the people politically and industrially to bring Socialism.

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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National Convention to Be Held in New York

Date Changed to April 14—
Berger Elected National
Party Chairman

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in Detroit Saturday and Sunday, October 15 and 16, heard a report from the National Secretary, giving a detailed account of receipts and expenses of the P. A. and the American Appeal for the nine months of the present year and then went into the question of Convention and Party work.

After a general survey of a date and place for the convention, a decision was finally reached that the convention should be held in New York City beginning April 14. Members of the Committee from New York City extended an invitation for the convention to be held in New York City and their offer was accepted. The committee feels confident that the 1928 Convention of the Socialist Party will be one of the best and largest conventions in the history of the Party. Delegates are expected from all parts of the United States.

Berger National Chairman

Comrade Victor L. Berger was elected National Chairman of the Socialist Party to succeed Eugene V. Debs. The selection of Berger was made by the National Executive Committee at its meeting in Detroit on Oct. 15th. Harriet Stanton Blatch, of New York City, elected as the representative of the Socialist Party of the United States on the International Socialist Women's Committee. This committee of women is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International with headquarters at Zurich.

Enthusiasm on the Rise

Tentative plans looking toward strengthening the party organization and the planning of the campaign were discussed thoroughly, and a general plan will be worked out and put into operation at a later meeting of the committee. Reports show that there is a general development of enthusiasm and activity in most parts of the country and predictions were freely made that our vote in 1928 will be far greater than at any time in the history of the Party.

Comrade Hillquit having just arrived from Europe gave the Committee an excellent report of the recent meeting which he attended at Brussels with the International Socialist Conference. His report showed that our movement throughout Europe is not only a most powerful one at the present time, but that a continued growth of the movement is expected to swing the Socialists in control of a number of governments in the near future.

Fine Banquet Held

On Saturday night the comrades of Detroit staged a fine banquet to the National Executive Committee, and a general good time was had with much speech making, ending at 1:00 A. M. So, lay members at the banquet consisted of Hillquit, Berger, Van Essen, Bernstein, O'Neal and Sharts, National Secretary Henry acted as Toastmaster. High class music was furnished by Mr. and Mrs. Israel Katz. The excellent musical feature was thoroughly enjoyed by all.

Contributions were called for by the Toastmaster and met a ready response. Comrade Hillquit headed the list with \$50.00, seconded by Berger with \$30.00. There were a number of \$25.00 contributions from J. Bernstein, J. Weisler, Binkov, and Van Essen. M. Goldstein and Phil. Dubin contributed \$20.00 each, and there were \$10.00 contributions from Roth, Sharts, Shroeder, Kreighoff, Winkow and Weiner. \$5.00 contributions were received from Mrs. Weisler, Pink, Eidekow, Wagman, Gillyard, Heimann, Robin, and Smith. L. Bernstein, Dr. Kleiman, Weinberg, Goehalf, Pecheur, Ladies Auxiliary and Rosenbaum, \$3.00 each. (Cont. on Page 2)

WILL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEVER WAKE UP?

Private interests with aggregate property worth more than seventeen billion dollars have declared united war against public ownership and have launched the greatest propaganda campaign against the rights of the common people in the sources of their existence in the history of this country. This country is to witness a poisoning of the public mind against the fundamental concepts of democracy comparable to the poisoning of the popular mind during the World War.

Simultaneously with this "educational" drive of the trusts, the great power monopoly of this country is preparing for its major drive on congress to prevent the inauguration of public ownership projects already contemplated. At a recent conference of railroad magnates it developed that the thing feared and opposed most was public ownership. The Utility interests met in national convention during the week and betrayed the fact that they are preparing to fight most of all public ownership.

Reorganized and heavily financed, the power trust lobby is coming back to Washington to prepare for the most titanic struggle ever waged over possession of key resources in the United States—the Muscle Shoals power plant and the Boulder Canyon site.

Joshua T. Newcomb, field marshal of the power monopoly forces, who became conspicuous last winter when he told a House committee that he represented "seven billions of investment" in public utilities, and would not permit the Boulder Canyon dam measure to pass so long as it provided for public ownership, has for 15 years been a lobbyist for public utility corporations.

At its annual convention at Atlantic City last June, the National Electric Light Association applauded and endorsed a report from its committee on water power development, in which the principle of public ownership was emphasized in the Muscle Shoals plant, the Swing-Johnson bill for Boulder Dam, and certain plans for the St. Lawrence waterway development, was attacked.

From a southern senator who has stood consistently for the Norris bill, requiring government operation at Muscle Shoals and government sale of the electric current to consumers, has come a report that the power combine is making headway in its plan to rush through Congress, at the coming session, its grab of the property. A number of Democratic senators in the South who have thus far stood out against the trust are now expected to declare that the issue must be "gotten out of the way" in order that more debate may be given the flood control issue.

Why this unusual excitement against public ownership by these powerful interests at a time when the advocates of public ownership show such weakness? Why are the trusts making this a major issue, when the duped, poisoned and blinded American people have almost forgotten it? There is just one answer. The private monopolists sense how utterly untenable is their position. They know the facts and they know the facts are against them. They know that truth and right is on the side of public ownership. They are well aware of the success of public ownership of power in Ontario. They know that public ownership is doing throughout the world and how the movement of the people toward the public possession of the sources of employment and wealth is steadily gaining like a great tide. While there is yet time and make America an impenetrable fortress of private monopoly. Will the American people never wake up?

4,500,000 Jobless Wholly Or In Part, Labor Leader Says

LOS ANGELES—There are more than 1,000,000 unemployed in this country, and 3,500,000 wage earners are working part time, said John P. Frey, secretary-treasurer, Metal Trades Department, at the A. F. of L. convention, in discussing labor's wage declaration that wages must keep pace with production.

The coal, textile, garment and glass industries are especially hit by unemployment, the speaker said. Such a condition, he declared, reflects on those who manage industry and who "boast of our prosperity."

Wages are high only among well organized workers, said Mr. Frey. He quoted a recent statement by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics that more than 200,000 railroad common laborers averaged \$17 a week in 1926; that the average wage in lumber camps was less, and that wages of textile workers was abnormally low.

Between 1909 and 1925, he said, industrial workers increased production 49 per cent, but their real wages in that period increased but 5 per cent. He insisted that wages have not kept pace with increased production.

The problem, he added, went to the very basis of the industrial structure, for industries can not function with employees unable to purchase the products they make.

Berger Will Oppose Repaying Swindlers of Teapot Dome

Congressman Victor L. Berger will vote against giving either Doheny or Sinclair or any of their subsidiary companies "even a red cent" for their expenditures on pipe lines and tanks on the Elk Hills naval oil reserves.

The congressman made this clear today in a statement on the Supreme Court decision annulling the Teapot Dome oil leases.

Mr. Berger takes the view that the pipe lines and tanks were put there to obtain fraudulently the oil of the naval reserves. "They were trying to break into the naval reserve to steal the oil," he said. "If they are not entitled to it, they are not entitled to any payment on the tools."

Text of Statement
The statement follows: "The decision of the supreme court in the Teapot Dome oil case, which will compel Harry H. Doheny and Edward L. Doheny, who had grabbed the Elk Hills naval oil reserve—to return these immensely valuable oil properties to the government, seems to prove that after all it said and done the supreme court of the United States can be made to show more regard for honesty and justice than was shown by the jury of 12 average Americans, who sat in Washington, D. C., and freed Mr. Doheny of all blame. That jury simply yielded to the greasy instinct, which is very strongly developed in our country even among the masses just at the present time."

Will Oppose Reimbursement
"In conclusion the supreme court mentioned the claims of the various Sinclair subsidiary companies involved in the case. These companies demanded that if the lease was cancelled, they should be reimbursed for about \$10,000,000 worth of expenditures as to pipe lines and storage tanks that were put up by these companies on the naval reserve for the purpose of getting the oil. And the supreme court says that this claim is up to congress."

"I want to say that I for one will vote against giving either Doheny or Sinclair or any of their subsidiary companies even a red cent for these improvements. These pipe lines and tanks were put there to obtain fraudulently the oil of the naval reserves. In other words, they were trying to break into the naval reserves to steal the oil. The pipe lines and tanks were simply used as 'jimmies' for that purpose."

Burglar and Tools
"But if a burglar tries to break into a house and is scared by a policeman and leaves his jimmies behind—he surely is not entitled to any payment for the tools that he loses. And neither are these oil magnates entitled to any payment."

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Capitalist Politician

Wendell Phillips once gave a happy and illuminating description of the capitalist politician. Said he:

"A politician is a man who lives by his tongue at Washington what he wouldn't for all the world have known at home, and whispering at home what he wouldn't for all the world have known in his district when he is politically dead the moment he is equally well known in both places."

The capitalist politician to succeed at the game must be a hypocrite and a coward. If he goes to congress as a republican, democrat or progressive, he is supposed to represent ALL THE PEOPLE in his district when, as a matter of fact, this is absolutely impossible as long as there is an upper and lower class, an exploiting and exploited class in society.

If he is for the exploiters, he is against the exploited and vice versa, as he can take sides with neither openly, he takes sides secretly with the strong against the weak, the cunning against the ignorant, and then loudly shouts his own praises from the stump and with many a striking attitude and fierce recitation warns his sold-out victim against the awful things that will happen to him if he should be so unfortunate as to be no longer misrepresented and sold out by him in congress.

Illinois Militarist Resolution Fails at A. F. of L. Meeting

Stand of Labor Vindicates Fight Against Measure by American Appeal

American labor has vindicated the attacks made by the American Appeal on the militarist resolution passed by the Illinois Federation of Labor at its recent annual convention at East St. Louis.

When this resolution was carried to the floor of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles for endorsement it met with a hot reception from the progressive elements in the convention and a cold reception from the conservatives.

It was pointed out that the resolution from a vote, which probably would have been it, by accepting a resolution committee's leadership in steering it back to the federation executive council.

President John H. Walker of the Illinois federation introduced the resolution.

"The so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and the lowering of living standards to the plane of international colonialism and pauperism," the resolution declares.

This opening paragraph stirred the ire of half a dozen woman delegates, of whom there are fifteen occupying seats on the floor. Other passages in the resolution, particularly one which declared: "Great endowments funds left by notorious oppressors and exploiters of American labor are devoted to the propagation of doctrines which undermine the national integrity of Americans and threaten the prospects for continuous betterment of the economic, educational, and other opportunities enjoyed by wage earners of the nation," were said by members of the resolutions committee to be difficult of explaining in their present form.

Max Hayes, who was Farmer-Labor candidate for Vice President in 1920, assailed the resolution.

"Who are these mysterious personages mentioned in this Illinois resolution?" Hayes queried. "I demand that some member of the Illinois delegation explain this resolution."

Hayes' query was particularly directed toward parts of the resolution which declared that "international money changers" and others were aiding and abetting "the money and counsel in many attacks upon American institutions and laws which stand in the way of a general reduction of American living standards."

Other delegates said the resolution, as framed, was directed to the Illinois Federation, not to the national federation for action. Victor Olander of Chicago said it would be agreeable to refer the measure to the federation executive council, and on motion of Matthew Woll of Chicago, chairman of the resolutions committee, this was done.

DEADLY PARALLEL—MACHINE AND N. Y. Socialists

MAN UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM Machine Enriches the Owners

So tremendous has been the advance in the productivity of American workers that, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has been conducting a series of investigations in this field "for the major industries of the country, the total output of 1925 could be produced in 1927 by one-half the number of workers which would have been required under conditions existing in 1899."

The combined output of agricultural, mineral and manufactured commodities and of railroad transportation increased nearly two and one-half times between 1899 and 1925.

In respect to railroad transportation, it is shown that while 1,215,000 workers produced \$4,721,000,000 in revenue in 1913, 1,744,000 turned out \$5,602,000,000 in 1925. In other words, while the carriers had 171,000 less workers, their receipts went up \$881,000,000.

Automatic machines that completely displace the workers and require only a small fraction for " upkeep" of what the living workers require, thus enabling the owner to get practically the full product and do away with the worker, are being introduced. Some of the latest machines remind one of the "Robots" or mechanical men of a well known drama.

One of the latest is a "mechanical man" whose faculties are at both ends of a telephone connection and whose functions imitate those of human workers, according to a New York City account of the invention.

This modified automaton responds to the voice of a master as effectively as a servant to the housewife, a clerk to a broker and as mechanic to the garage man.

The machine, an electrical contrivance known as the "televox," was demonstrated in New York City by R. J. Wensley, engineer for the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing company.

The device has an extremely sensitive ear, attuned to voice sounds that must be delicately carried to a mechanical "brain."

Orders are issued through a tuning fork into the telephone to which is attached a small loud-speaker. The telephone connection is made in the usual way. When the bell rings at the post of the automaton a ringing relay calls into action the equipment, which lifts the receiver. Amplifiers then take up the sounds that come over the wire, the different sounds thus magnified controlling different wires, and the current thus transmitted throwing on or off a switch, as desired.

The televox is contained in a box three feet high and two feet wide and consists of a series of sound filters, amplifiers and magnetic levers. It responds only to sound transmitted by telephone, and only to sounds pitched in certain keys.

In the demonstration, at the first sound sent over the televox the automatic slave lit a series of lights; at the second, it turned on an electric fan; at the third, it switched on a three-light.

Each of the machines are in active use by the war department, stationed at the three reservoirs that supply water to Washington, D. C. There they watch over water levels, performing perfectly on a twenty-four hour a day basis the duties the same number of human workmen would be called upon to do in eight hours.

What Shall We Do About It?
What can any sane and civilized nation possessing an ounce of reason do in the face of such a situation but publicly own and use the machines to provide every producer with work and wealth? What else is there to do in the face of the new tremendous possibilities of science and invention. Try to think up some other solution if you can. The American Appeal will gladly publish it.

"Nonpartisanism" Is Challenged at A. F. of L. Meet
LOS ANGELES—Shafts of ridicule, scorn and shame were hurled at the American Federation of Labor's nonpartisan political policy by Delegate Max Hayes of Cleveland, the Farmer-Labor candidate for vice-president of the United States in the 1920 campaign, when he spoke for the first time in the sessions of the 47th federation convention at Los Angeles.

"What a Spectacle!"
"What a spectacle it was at the Republican convention in Cleveland in 1924," Hayes cried. "Your committee, with Matthew Woll at the head, had to wait three or four days in the convention anteroom. Brother Woll was cooling his heels waiting for a hearing to present the suggestions of labor. At last he was given 10 minutes and then in effect the Republican bosses told him to get the hell out of here and out he went. Talk about the dignity of labor! Do

Takes the Jobs of The Workers

The specter of highly complex machinery chasing America's highly skilled craftsmen out of their jobs and dumping them on the scrap heap of the unemployed is the dominant bogey at the Los Angeles convention of the American Federation of Labor. Almost every official speech thus far has sounded a note of anxiety. Almost every international official has let that fear appear in discussing the problems of industry and labor.

The executive council leads the symphony of apprehension in its report to the convention listing labor's outstanding problems. "Second among our outstanding problems," it reports, "we list how to Organize Highly Mechanized Industries. The use of mechanical power and machine tools is characteristic of quantity production, and also of the still more highly specialized method called mass production. So great are the changes constituting mass production that the effect is an industrial revolution with transformations comparable to the first industrial revolution that introduced the factory system. These methods mean for the individual worker highly repetitive jobs and a division of the work previously done by craftsmen into repetitive operations performed by a number of workers. In practically none of these industries are the workers organized."

Filling in the details of the executive council's sketch, Pres. E. J. Manion of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers remarks that 11,000 jobs in his craft were lost in the last few years because of automatic transmitting and allied causes. So highly trained a craft as railroad telegraphy is going the way of all flesh in American industries. The machine transmitter, the automatic signal system on the roads, the introduction of remote control of trains and signals, the displacement of the telegraph key by the telephone—all these are factors in the encroachments on the once strongly entrenched craft. The union has, however, held its own the past year as 25,000 members and has gained several wage advances.

In similar vein but speaking of a basic industry President M. T. Tighe of the Iron, Steel & Tin Workers' Amalgamated Assn. laments the passing of the skilled rolling mill worker, the bulwark of the union. "They are now rolling metal as low as 22 cents," says Tighe. "The machines are doing everything our best men used to do and doing it faster. In time they won't need any skilled labor in industry. Machines and semi-skilled and unskilled will do it all. Add to that the havoc wrought by the company unions, company pensions and company stock plans. It is easy to see how our traditional union is fast becoming a footpath. About a third of the skilled workers in the steel mills are now almost eligible for a pension from the corporation and you won't find them risking their pension in the interest of union organization, to say nothing of strikes."

Similar complaints are heard from widely divergent quarters, the printing industry, needle trades, primary industries and even the building trades and transportation.

As the executive council points out, there must be a new basis of appeal in the mass production industries on the part of organized labor.

What Shall We Do About It?
The comrades of New York are doing their utmost—working night and day—against it—magnificent odds—with a weakened organization—and, who is worst of all, without the necessary funds.

"They are working not for themselves, not for the districts they hope to capture for Socialism, important as that may be, but for the Socialist movement of the United States."

"The comrades of New York are doing their utmost—working night and day—against it—magnificent odds—with a weakened organization—and, who is worst of all, without the necessary funds."

"They are doing this for the comrades outside New York. What will the comrades outside of New York do to help make their struggle triumphant?"

Contributions should be sent to Campaign Fund, The New Leader, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Curb on Bosses
He sketched the chastening effect a third party has on the political bosses and urged the calling of a conference next spring by the executive council to which all labor, farmer and liberal organizations should be invited, which would take an independent stand and show the bosses they don't own the workers.

"The bosses won't give you justice in congress or in the courts because their class interests are different from yours," Hayes patiently explained. "You won't win right away but you will in time and meanwhile you will force concessions from the boss parties."

He sketched the rise of the English and Australian labor parties to power and predicted that in 10 or 12 years they would control their national governments. "At that time we will still be on our knees before our masters begging favors," was his final shot.

No Reversal Asked
President Green in reply maintained, a bit more patriotically than statistically perhaps, that we had as good social legislation as any in the world and that "we will get what we want in our own way."

Unusual Campaign Develops—Outside Help Will Make Victory Certain

NEW YORK—The New Leader, New York Socialist paper, following a careful survey of the political situation in New York City, predicts a sweeping victory for Socialism and a revival of the Socialist movement throughout the nation, if the present plans for an energetic campaign are executed.

The Socialist campaign in New York City has developed an enthusiasm on the part of Socialists and a response from the voters equal to the great former campaigns when the Socialists cast 10,000 votes and elected a dozen and a half members of the city council. It is no question but that Socialism will come back in New York in full strength and the entire Socialist movement of the United States will be spurred to new enthusiasm and activity. Socialists throughout the nation should help New York by contributing funds. A real opportunity faces the movement. Among other encouraging things, the New Leader says:

"As we go to press the six days devoted to registration have almost passed. The push of the city on the basis of the registration figures, states that the vote will be the heaviest in those parts of the city where the Socialists are putting in their efforts."

To political observers, this means but one thing: that the Socialists of New York are on the eve of a victory that will mark their return to power, and that the Socialists of the nation can enter the Presidential campaign of next year heartened by the success of their comrades in New York.

"Victory, we said—and we repeat—is within."

"Judge Jacob Panken will be returned for another term of ten years to the Municipal Court bench, Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Sadie Rivkin, and Harry W. Alderman, enter the Board of Education, Charles Solomons likely to go to the Assembly, Samuel Beardsley, and Isidore Corn have excellent prospects."

"Around our comrades are rallying all forward looking elements who seek relief from the domination of the sinister elements that have made democracy in New York State a farce. Everywhere the Socialist message is cheered as it has not been cheered in years. The people look to the Socialists for leadership in their struggle against plutocracy."

"Shall we betray their hopes?—undermine their faith?—and discourage them at a moment when defeat would send them back to the tender mercies of a ruthless political machine?"

"The comrades of New York are doing their utmost—working night and day—against it—magnificent odds—with a weakened organization—and, who is worst of all, without the necessary funds."

"They are doing this for the comrades outside New York. What will the comrades outside of New York do to help make their struggle triumphant?"

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More Socialist Gains In Germany
HAMBURG—The municipal elections in Altona, Wandsbeck, and Harburg brought a heavy increase in the Socialist vote and a severe defeat of the reactionary parties.

Of the 113,310 votes polled in Altona, the Socialists received 43,036, thereby increasing their councilmen from 18 to 25. The Nationalists polled only 1,980 votes and elected only one councilman.

In Wandsbeck, the Socialists polled 8,241 votes and won three new seats, thereby raising the number of their councilmen to 15. In Harburg, the Socialists are the majority party and control the city council.

The convention had the previous day, by about nine affirmative votes to none in the negative, adopted the nonpartisan political policy of the executive council. Hayes did not ask for a reversal and the issue was quickly buried. A conference will be called by the council in Washington the coming year to consider legislation to be pressed on congress.

VIENNESE WORKERS MOVE TO BLOCK STRANGLING OF RUSSIA

Probably the first link in mutual trade relations between separated communities of workers in the midst of the present world-wide struggle between organized capital and organized labor, has been forged between Socialist Vienna and Soviet Russia.

Just at a time when Russia is being surrounded and isolated economically by world capitalism led by the British tory government the Socialist ruled city of Vienna has completed an arrangement for a financial guarantee of Viennese exports to Russia. The Vienna city will be credit amounts to \$4,000,000 until June, 1928. Thereafter there will be a further credit of more than \$5,000,000. The city undertakes to guarantee 70 per cent of the value of the exports, the owner risking the other 30 per cent.

This will furnish at least 15,000 Viennese workers with work manufacturing the additional goods needed for this export. It will constitute a new link binding the workers together for mutual sustenance and safety as the class struggle becomes more acute and deadly. The Socialists control Vienna by an overwhelming majority and their strength is so great in the Austrian government that the latter has entered into a similar deal with Russia. Germany, where the Socialist party is the strongest political party, has a similar arrangement with Russia.

These treaties, achieved through the power of the trade union and Socialist movements of these countries are among the factors that are preventing the complete isolation and strangulation of Russia by the capitalist and imperialist governments. They reveal possibilities in the future struggles between the workers and their exploiters.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A Great Week

Events of vast importance in the wide-flung struggle between the workers and their exploiters characterized the week just passed. In Great Britain the Labor Party concluded an eventful annual session. In Mexico the reactionary counter-revolution against the peasant-worker power in Mexico was crushed. In Germany a strike began of 140,000 coal miners and textile workers against wages and conditions that are impossible and are the fruits of the falsely celebrated Dawes plan which loads a burden on the German workers that cannot much longer be borne and may force tremendous changes in Germany.

In the United States were two major developments connected with the struggle. The A. F. of L. completed the work of its annual convention without having changed its policies or leadership or given ground for hope of an early change. The other development was the tightening and strengthening of the battle lines of the super-power trust preparatory to a supreme struggle in the next congress which may determine definitely whether or not the American people are to become the helpless political and industrial victims of this monster.

The crowding of such great events and others into a week illustrates the titanic character of the struggle today. Not a year passes but what this world-wide struggle between the workers and owners becomes more vast and significant. Clearly it is leading rapidly to a supreme test between the workers and the ruling class—the forces of democracy and the forces of tyranny, reaction and militarism. In the headlines of the daily capitalist papers is the greatest text and argument ever written for Socialism, if the people could only read.

A. F. of L. Convention

The convention of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles, just closed, was in some ways disappointing. The convention adhered to its old policy of political "non-partisanship," or reward "your friends and punish your enemies." This stand becomes more surprising each year in view of the increasing development of the political independence of labor over the whole world. Nothing can account for it except that American labor leaders are completely submerged in the capitalist parties. This year, however, they did not get away with it without a struggle. Max Hayes' able attack on this policy and his brilliant defense of independent political action deserves highest praise. If the real progressives in the labor movement would display a little more of the same kind of courage and honesty, there would be more hope of bringing about a change.

In its efforts to collaborate with the government, probably the most capitalist government in the world—the A. F. of L. developed grave inconsistencies. It refused to condemn American imperialism on the ground that facts do not justify such a charge against the government. This is most absurd. If this government is not imperialistic, what is it doing in Nicaragua, Haiti, San Domingo, Cuba, the American protectorate over Cuba? What about our broken promise to grant independence to the Philippines? Surely this is one of the most ghastly and disgraceful acts of imperialism in modern times.

The A. F. of L. leaders had a great deal to say about the new friendship and cooperation between capital and labor in America, and drew from honest Andrew Furuseth a scathing, just and unanswerable rebuke. If this cooperation is so good, why not dissolve the trade unions and join the company unions, where the cooperation is perfect?

Let it be said to the credit of this convention that it passed a resolution against the conscription of labor in time of war, but on the other hand, it did not take a decisive stand against the intensely militaristic, reactionary and nationalistic resolution presented by the Illinois Federation of Labor. It passed this resolution to the Executive Board. On the other hand, the convention passed a resolution condemning the ignorant and fanatical attempts to prevent the study of evolution in the schools. The massing of the labor forces against the rising tide of bigotry and ignorance in the United States is encouraging. One of the acts of the convention was endorsement of a plan to base the future wage demands of labor on labor's increasing productivity. If labor wins and maintains that stand its position will become much more militant and progressive than at present. There will not be a great deal of kindly "friendship and cooperation" on the part of the big employers toward labor, but labor will progress toward real independence and power, if it fights out this issue consistently.

British Labor Party

What did the British Labor Party do at its recent convention at Blackpool, England? American Federation of Labor papers and American capitalist papers tell us that it turned from Socialism toward liberalism, and that it became more of a liberal party and less of a Socialist party.

We have before us the full reports on that convention in the London Daily Herald, official organ of the Labor Party. These reports show that these capitalist statements have no foundation in fact.

The thing that actually happened, indeed, has special Socialist significance. The Blackpool Labor Party convention was in reality a practical preparation of the labor forces of Great Britain to take power and begin the inauguration of Socialism immediately. It is the first labor conference in England that was devoted specifically to the adoption of a practical program for immediately winning and using power.

When Ramsay MacDonald announced the necessity of presenting the British nation with a practical and immediate program calculated to win the majority in the next election, some of the more left elements were temporarily alarmed. MacDonald assured the conference:

"That Socialism, which was the background of all their policies, would guide them in selecting the items of their election program." This idea immediately won the support of the most radical Socialists. The program adopted won the overwhelming support of the 1,200 delegates. A very large proportion of whom were members of the Independent Labor Party, a purely Socialist organization. Among the election planks adopted were the following:

Immediate nationalization of the mines.

Establishment by the government of a living wage.

Obligation of the government to see that all willing workers have employment.

Re-establishment by law of the 7-hour day taken by law from the miners.

Educational and poor law reform in the interest of the workers and common people.

A progressive sur-tax on all incomes above \$2,500, the revenues from the tax to be used in furnishing employment, educating and improving the lot of the masses of the people.

Demands are revolutionary in character. The nationalization of coal is basic, because the coal industry is the first to fall completely under capitalism and this starts the socialization process at the beginning.

The establishment of a living wage will compel fundamental modifications of capitalism, yet Great Britain has reached a point where this must be done—where this issue cannot any longer be dodged, and where the argument for it is inevitable.

British Labor has adopted a program which will appeal to the majority of the voters, and which when carried out will lay the whole foundation of Socialism; and some American "laborites" are chiming in the capitalist chorus that it is "liberalism."

The Mexican Revolt

A very important sector of the battle lines of labor were imperiled for one week by the sudden and widespread mutiny in the Mexican army. The outcome against odds that never will be wholly known illustrates the state of the military machine in government close to the workers and the real democratic forces of a nation.

The most dangerous revolt and the final trump card of capitalism is the corruption of the army and the use of the military machine to overthrow the government representing the legal majority. The game has been played often lately and now constitutes one of the most dangerous methods used by the reactionaries. In Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania this resort to the military has completely wiped out democratic government and enslaved the workers, at least for the present. The plain truth is that scientific weapons of destruction have become practically omnipotent. Armies are the most easily corruptible of all the instruments of power. The reason is that the military atmosphere and psychology begets reaction. Army officers are especially prone to be reactionary. Putting guns into the hands of trained human automatons makes them conscious of their bloody power—makes them crave to use their power bloodily—kills progressive and humane ideas. It is even dangerous for a workers' republic to maintain a standing army, although this seems unavoidable on account of the brutal military of anti-labor governments.

To the army the reactionaries go to play their trump card, and to the army went the reactionary interests in Mexico and from the United States. It is significant that they were successful in stirring up a good sized mutiny. Their work has been shown to have been careful and widespread. It was the officers, of course, who were corrupted, and their influence was depended upon to mislead the soldiers. We say that the mutiny of so many "generals" and other officers was significant, because the greatest care has been exercised by the Calles regime to weed out reactionary elements and place the army on a footing of unwavering loyalty to the semi-labor government.

Facts disclosed in various documents in Mexico, in the conduct of the Washington administration, in fact admitted in the American press for years, show who were back of this process of corruption of the Mexican army. American oil and other interests have been instigating trouble and revolution in Mexico for years. President Wilson pointed out this fact in a staid dignified manner. The Knights of Columbus a year ago adopted a plan to raise a million dollars to fight the Calles regime. American capitalists and American Catholics were in league with the reactionary and Catholic elements of Mexico to play this final card of army reaction.

The uprising of Gomez was predicted by John G. Gwyn, an American newspaper correspondent, in the Chicago Tribune at least six months ago. The American capitalist press showed what it knew about the "inside" of the revolt and where it stood. In many ways it scarcely had the mutiny revealed itself when the Tribune pointed to this development as proof positive that Mexico is incurably unstable and a menace to the United States, leaving the plain inference that the American Army should "stabilize" Mexico. A Hearst paper carried a large headline stating that Calles had executed a rival for the presidency, when as a matter of fact Calles is not running, and the man executed was captured in the act of mutiny and rebellion. There is no question but that the administration in Washington would have recognized the rebels as soon as they established a base. This would have meant unlimited arms for them. The counter-revolutionists made straight for Vera

Cruz, a seaport and center of the oil region, as if by pre-arranged plan. Had they sized Vera Cruz, there would have been no limit to the amount of the most destructive war weapons that could have been hurried to the rebels.

In the face of these dangers, the Mexican government won in a week. It demonstrated that the statements about the instability of the Mexican government are capitalist propaganda lies. This dangerous army mutiny could not have been suppressed so quickly had not Calles been backed by the overwhelming majority of the Mexican people. This lays another nail in the coffin of the people of Mexico against the present Mexican government. No sooner had the mutinous rebellion raised its head than the Mexican Federation of Labor and the agrarian organizations offered their services. As the Appeal pointed out recently, these elements represent more than half the people of Mexico and they are organized.

The quick ending of the army mutiny leaves the American and Mexican reaction only one card to play—American intervention. Mexico is proving a all round success. It would require a bold and brazen administration now to launch a policy of intervention. The workers have won a real victory.

Is Soviet Russia Liberalizing?

Soviet Russia has signaled the opening of the present session of parliament by the abolition of capital punishment except in the most grave offenses against the present regime and by commuting the prison term of those working to destroy the soviet government.

This does not sound good on its face because this classification means that the crimes involving real moral and anti-social turpitude are pardoned, while disagreement with the soviet regime is not pardoned to the same extent. However, the report states that except of those working to destroy the soviet government.

We sincerely hope this view is correct. Russia is in the position to do the supreme thing for humanity in leading toward a better social order. The soviet government has undoubtedly had considerable success in socializing industries, but its good work has been largely neutralized by its harshness to those in Russia who politically disagree with the Communists. Of course, this harshness has arisen from extreme and often exaggerated fears caused by Russia's isolated position and the endless and desperate plotting of internal enemies.

The Communists have been particularly cruel to the Socialists, despite the fact that the Socialists have repeatedly declared that they do not aim to overthrow the soviet government, but only to demonstrate its weakness and to demonstrate its own existence. Russia needs a Socialist party as well as a Communist party. When it becomes possible for a Socialist party to exist in Russia, Russia will find itself backed solidly by the forces of international labor, and in a much safer position than it is now.

The Propaganda of The Power Trust

By Norman Thomas

It was good to read of the prolonged applause that greeted Senator Johnson's speech on the Boulder Dam situation before the A. F. of L. convention at Los Angeles in which he vigorously denounced the propaganda of the power interests. The same paper which carried this dispatch carried a formal announcement that the National Utility Association representing \$17,500,000,000 of invested capital in public railroads is to start a nationwide "educational" campaign against government ownership.

It is hard to exaggerate the menace of this thing unless the public is on its guard. We know by experience what such campaigns backed by loss powerful forces have meant. The Undermyer investigation showed that the New York subway system was persistently more or less in financial standing in their fight against the five cent fare. For a long time electric power corporations have been boasting that while general living costs were rising the cost of electricity was falling. They do not tell us that costs of electricity to private consumers are distinct from industrial users have fallen little if any and that all costs should have fallen many times over owing to the marvelous technical progress of the industry (which employs relatively few workers) and is therefore not much affected by rising wage scales) were it not for the outrageous profits taken by the companies under various devices intended to cheat regulation.

Past experience warrants us in saying that education as understood by the National Utility Association means deliberate lying and misrepresentation. The electrical interests proved that they sized the reports they hired reputable engineers to make in attacking the Ontario development. It means a wholesale hiring of labor leaders, public speakers and women prominent in women's club to feed the prepared propaganda given them. Almost a quarter of a million was thus spent in California. It means that newspapers and radio will be open to the expensive propaganda of the utilities companies and closed to everybody else. The Electrical World recently quoted with approval the advice of one executive to "buy white space" in a newspaper. As a matter of fact, in which case the newspapers will go slow in printing letters of attack on utility companies!

Finally, this educational campaign means the attempt to influence schools and colleges. The Chairman of the Public Relations-section of the National Electric Light Association, commenting on gifts which it had obtained for Northwestern University and Harvard, deplored Professor W. Z. Ripley's attack on some big corporations in his famous book "Main Street and Wall Street." He ended his remarkable statement by saying: "If we can be sure that we have got hold, with reference to our industry, of the will of Jehovah perhaps we may, also play the part of Jehovah in putting into the mouth of the particular Balaam, that is, college professor, whom we are asking to go forth something of the truth which we would like which we have a right, to expect to have prophesied."

The men who made America a nation, and whom we are taught in our school history books to look up to and admire, started the American Revolution on the slogan, "No Taxation without Representation." King George III and the British Parliament claimed the right to tax the American colonists without allowing them representation in the British Parliament, or giving them a say in determining how large the taxes should be or how they should be spent. Americans thus had their taxes determined by people whom they did not elect and over whom they had no control, and against such a situation the colonists started a revolt.

Private Monopolies Protect Their Graft

(From Labor, Washington, D. C.)

The National Utility Association, representing some \$17,500,000,000 of capital, have started a nationwide "educational campaign" to teach the people the beauties of private monopoly and the horrible wickedness of public ownership.

Cortelyou, president of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York and spokesman for these philanthropic interests: "Despite the fact that the country as a whole, has endorsed the policy of private ownership, operation and management of utilities, and has approved a strategy which appears with specious plans, at would involve the government in vast expenditures, whereas every practical feature of their plans, if any, could be secured at infinitely less expense by development of existing private agencies!"

While Mr. Cortelyou was making that boast, Labor was publishing data to prove that in Ottawa, the capital of Canada, with public ownership, the average household pays 1 cent for electricity, while in Washington, the capital of the United States, with private ownership, the average household pays 5 cents per kilowatt hour.

Private utility interests wouldn't fight so hard for their job if they were not footing a steady graft out of it. Watch out for a flood of propaganda against public ownership at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Canon!

Federal Courts Make Two Slave Decisions

(From the A. F. of L. News Service)

Federal Judge Grubb's decision that organized stone cutters in New York City must handle non-union stone is a slave edict.

This estimate, harmonized with what Associate Justice Brandeis said of a similar ruling by the United States Supreme Court in the *Bulfinch* (Indiana) case, on which Judge Grubb based his decision. The associate justice said:

"If, on the undisputed facts of this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Act and the Clayton Law AN INSTRUMENT FOR IMPOSING RESTRAINTS UPON LABOR WHICH REMAINS ONE OF INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE."

It may be said that workers can not be forced to labor against their will. That's what the stone cutters believed, but they have been enjoined from refusing to handle non-union stone.

They also are individually liable for damages and they face criminal prosecution. In fact, several of them have been indicted and now await trial.

The Grubb decision is more sinister than the Supreme Court decision. In the latter case private corporations asked for an injunction in the lower courts and finally won in the tribunal of last resort.

In the case before Judge Grubb the Federal Department of Justice was plaintiff—the government fought for anti-union employers.

A precedent is thus created that will not be overlooked by those employers. Hereafter, when they wage war on organized labor, and those workers refuse to handle their products, the Department of Justice may take up the employers' cause and ask for an injunction against the workers on the ground that interstate commerce is being interfered with.

The United States Supreme Court has sanctioned such relief in the *Bulfinch* case, on request of private employers.

In view of these two epoch-making decisions, of the government's new holding power and its consistent drive for the repeal of the Sherman Act and Brandeis' stinging comment, citizens may well ask if serfdom has passed.

Stop Repeal of Inheritance Tax

John M. Work

(In the Milwaukee Leader)

An eastern organization has been holding diligent and persistent drive for months to line up the members of the various state legislatures in favor of the repeal of the inheritance tax feature of the revenue law.

Legislators have received an apparently endless series of letters on the subject, asking them to take their stand on the question, and have even received telegrams. Any legislator who has not declared himself in favor of repeal is the target for these communications.

The object is, of course, to be able to show congress, at its December session, that a clear majority of all the members of the legislatures in the forty-eight states are committed to repeal of the estate tax, otherwise called the inheritance tax. Such a showing would undoubtedly be a powerful factor in securing the repeal, unless a committee of congress, or some minority thereof, or some other body, should take it upon themselves to write all the legislators who have signed the repeal resolution, explain the situation accurately to them, and ask them to state their views in the light of the facts.

If the states all had inheritance taxes, and all of them had the same rates of inheritance, more specifically, and those rates were reasonably high, the federal inheritance tax might be repealed without social loss.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialism and Americanism

The Slogans of the American Revolution

In IV Articles

Article I.

Alfred Baker Lewi

(Secretary, New England District, Socialist Party)

The men who made America a nation, and whom we are taught in our school history books to look up to and admire, started the American Revolution on the slogan, "No Taxation without Representation." King George III and the British Parliament claimed the right to tax the American colonists without allowing them representation in the British Parliament, or giving them a say in determining how large the taxes should be or how they should be spent. Americans thus had their taxes determined by people whom they did not elect and over whom they had no control, and against such a situation the colonists started a revolt.

This particular issue is settled. Our taxes are determined by men whom we elect to represent us. They may not do so very well or according to our true interests; but that is our fault, for we can elect others if we wish.

But from the point of view of the workers there are many more important questions than determining taxes. Determining wages, determining hours of labor, and deciding the even more important question of whether we shall be allowed to work or not, whether factories should operate full time or part time, or lay off help or take them on or replace men by women and children; all these are more important than any question of taxation. Yet none of these questions

of vital importance to the workers are determined by the representatives of the workers at all. They are determined by the representatives of the owners of industry, not the workers. Many of the owners are absentees, too, i. e., they do not work in the industry in which they are owners, nor even live in the same community. Yet they, through their representatives, the Board of Directors, control the wages, the hours, and the jobs of the workers. Since not the workers but the owners elect the Boards of Directors who choose the officers and manage the great corporations of the country, this means that the workers of America have their wages determined without representation, their hours without representation, and the very question of whether or not they should have a chance to work at all, determined without representation.

If a citizen of Massachusetts works at the General Electric Company plants in Lynn or Pittsfield, he has his wages and his chance to get a job fixed by superintendents, whom he does not elect or have any control over at all, but who are appointed by a Board of Directors elected mostly from citizens of New York state, since most of the General Electric stock is owned in New York. A man works in Maynard, Mass., his means of livelihood is at the mercy of the American Woolen Company and that company has scarcely a dozen stockholders in Maynard. The wages and the chance to work of most of Maynard's population is determined while those superintendents of the workers of Maynard having any say in the matter at all. In Cambridge where I live, the largest factory is

that of Lever Brothers. This concern is owned wholly in England. So we have British citizens determining the wages and the chance to work, controlling the very livelihood of American citizens, actually exercising more power over their lives than King George ever exercised over the American Colonists in the days before the American Revolution.

If determining taxes without representation was enough to cause the men who founded America to start a revolt against the British Government, surely when the owners of industry fix our wages without representation, decide on our hours of labor without representation, or determine without representation whether or not they will give us a chance to work, whether they will replace men by women and children, etc., it is time we started a more constructive sort of a revolt—a revolt at the ballot box.

Democrats and Republicans tolerate this condition of industrial autocracy that we have today. They do not protest against it. It is only we Socialists who protest. In making that protest we are carrying on the principles of Americanism on which this country was founded, for we are protesting against a control by outsiders over our means of livelihood which is far more complete and tyrannical than the control by King George and his minions over the lives of the American Colonists. It is Democrats and Republicans who have abandoned the principles of Americanism, and we Socialists who are demanding that the fulfillment of the promise of modern conditions to the end that pocracy may be destroyed and a genuine industrial democracy established.

Imperial dynasty: of pushing the House of Savoy, in due course, quietly off its throne, as the Mayors of the Palace in old France pushed off the decadent Carolingians; of proclaiming himself Roman Emperor.

The child's names suggest it. They are to be both Imperial and Roman. The child's name, you may be sure, is a prelude to a second-century painter, but after the greatest of the Caesars and the Eternal City.

Only, it is said, the lack of a law-heir has so far caused the Duce to delay the long-promised "Imperial Year of Fascism." The heir is born. There is no longer any obstacle to the fulfillment of the megalomaniac ambition which haunts the feeble and neurotic egotism of the Fascist chief.

Reasons for War

Ernest Untermann

(In the Milwaukee Leader)

We learn from Washington news items that the war department has made about 11,000 contracts with American firms under the industrial mobilization plan.

These contracts are to go into effect immediately at the first order of mobilization for war.

These are 11,000 reasons why war should be welcome to these firms.

War contracts are more profitable than peace work. We are on the declining arc of the industrial cycle. As business slumps, the firms with these potential war contracts will have urgent interests in favoring a war.

What good is a contract that is only an unsigned check? If the way to get it signed and cashed is to start something, the war department has given to the big business firms a hat to go after trouble, whenever war seems more profitable than peace.

Madame Rosika Schwimmer was denied citizenship because she testified that she would not kill a human being under any circumstances. Had she been a liar testifying to anything that pleased the judge, or had she been a murderer at heart testifying that she loved and upheld the institution of war, she would have been made a citizen. Christ could not be a citizen of the United States today.

According to the Supreme Court, Fall, Sinclair and Doheny illegally stole the Teapot Dome lease. Nobody sees either one of them suffer. Nobody sees either one of them suffer. Had they been some obscure soap boxers denouncing the existing system, instead of powerful magnates, they would now be testing in jail.

Mussolini's "Hair"

(From the London Daily Herald)

Signor Mussolini's new hair has been duly born. The "happy event" has been heralded with all the blare of publicity which, in normal monarchies, attends the birth of an heir to the throne.

In that many close observers of Italian affairs see an important significance. True, everything that the Duce does or says is heralded with full accompaniment of limelight and orchestra. His personal publicity service is the most highly organized, the most unrelenting, and probably the most costly in the world. Not a film star nor a boxing champion can hope to rival his amazing self-advertisement. It is ceaseless, fulsome, unspeakably wearisome.

But publicity for the baby: organized rejoicings as for a Crown Prince: what does this mean? Simply, says the discreet but knowledgeable gossip of Rome, that this much advertised child is a Crown Prince designate: that the Duce dreams of founding an

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What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

Public Ownership—Courts World Organization

John M. Work

(Associate Editor, Milwaukee Leader)

If I were confined to three planks they would be substantially as follows:

1. Public ownership of trusts, banks, railroads, coal, oil, insurance, and electric power.

2. Curbing of the powers of the courts.

3. Establishment of development of a genuine world organization to prevent war and coordinate the affairs of the world.

Water Power and Flood Control

Seymour Stedman

(Chicago Attorney; Socialist Vice-Presidential Candidate, 1916)

At the time I entered the Socialist party, it was decidedly utopian in character. It was a sect, as bigoted and narrow as any ecclesiastical group of which I have ever heard. The infusion of the Social Democratic party with the Socialist Labor Party to some extent improved conditions, but it was a long continuous fight. The Socialist party, as a political factor, has developed in Milwaukee; in New York to some extent, but there it was largely a Jewish movement. In Chicago our progress was exceedingly slow. Just prior to the war we had elected four members to the legislature, and four or five to the city council. When the war came on the lunatics in the party developed sufficient strength, assisted by the government persecution, to give us a tremendous setback.

The campaign at the time I was candidate for Vice-President was politically and educationally a failure.

It may sound harsh to your ears, but while the nationalization of railroads was a part of our constructive program, and it appeared more to the west than the east, we made a mistake in over-emphasizing it. Debs as an issue in the campaign. Our party has been too much of a protest party, and not sufficiently constructive. As an educational movement it was grand. As a political party it has been a colossal failure.

I believe at this time our accepted program should be the socialization of the world. The local and national ownership of electric and water power from the Boulder Dam to the smaller units. The municipal ownership movement has made progress, and it has a real sentiment and support backing it.

I think that a vigorous demand for the control and construction of the large waterways in a manner which will prevent inundation, except where desirable for reforestation, and an adequate appropriation for flood sufferers, should be an important issue. My judgment is not sufficiently mature and certain upon any other matters to justify a suggestion.

A Good American Life

Walter Nelles

(New York Attorney)

I'm dumfounded at how stalled I am by a request at which a few years ago my thoughts would have gushed like a geyser. Three issues? There's only one—to overcome the inappreciation of sound values which, along with outward obstacles, keeps nearly everyone from living a good life. But I'm hanged if I see how to give it a political dress. I can't predicate salvation or much hope of it on any species of mechanical invention. And

politics at its best is human machinery—"social engineering" has a name for its ideal.

There's no use telling voters they're hungry when most of them are not, or telling them how to get more Ford's, movies and radios when you wish they'd throw away the ones they have. I can't at the moment phrase any advocates more concrete than these:

Jobs for work, which ought to be one of the most interesting and important of human occupations.

Control of them (provided you have adequate deference from irresponsible use of it) for mankind.

Progressive gradual reduction of premiums on ownership with a pious hope that it will level barriers which lead to self-respecting, responsible creative industry.

I can think of a number of pretty good horses and carts. But the point is somehow to get them headed toward a desirable destination before you invite the people to climb aboard for a ride.

Power of Constructive Imagination Needed

Helen Phelps Stokes

I have been turning over in my mind the matter of planks for a 3rd party platform, and I had about decided upon three when one of your articles in the New Leader set me to thinking the matter through more thoroughly.

I realize of course that those who hold the power are liable, shall I say, to be in a position to promote the ends they have in view by exercising such control as they can over all the agencies of government. It is therefore of primary importance for those who desire a change in things—as they are,

that they set about the acquisition of power.

The need of acquiring power in the economic field and in the political field through organization is pretty clearly understood by those interested in the 3rd party movement, but the need of developing for social uses the power of the constructive imagination and harnessing it to the tastes of social reconstruction which lie ahead of us, seems to have been largely lost sight of.

Yet without it the acquisition of political and economic power is bound to be disappointing in its results when not actually sterile. Those who are coming into control must have a vision of the kind of world they want to create, and of the means and measures necessary to bring it into being.

"Immediate demands" then have their chief use in making people see a new and better way of doing things, in making them visualize a more decent, humane, and intelligent kind of social living.

This being so, such immediate demands as those for nationalization of the coal industry, or of super power, or municipal housing, or of control of foreign relations by Congress, rather than by the Executive, while leaving power still in the hands of those who at present control government, yet tend to stimulate powerfully the constructive imagination, and to bring into view the practical mind on ways and means of producing the results desired.

In other words, should we not choose our "immediate demands" for their educational value? If so some of the things most difficult of achievement become the most important for our purpose.

For instance: "The enactment of legislation to prevent the use of the armed forces of the nation in the protection of the persons and property of Americans

in foreign lands."

I imagine that this runs counter to the way of thinking now of most Americans,—and yet we will still be under "labor control" unless we visualize the right of our neighbors to be masters in their own houses.

Even the British Labor Party with all its enlightenment is weak here. Of course fundamental to all order of change is the achievement of real freedom of discussion, of criticism, of peaceful organization.

As you see I am offering you only thoughts, instead of planks, but perhaps they will be equally useful to stimulate pre-campaign discussion. In any case I am getting them off my mind.

Farm Relief—Imperialism Public Ownership

Benjamin C. Marsh

(Executive Secretary, People's Reconstruction League)

The three issues which I think should be most stressed in the coming campaign are:

1. A constructive farm policy.

2. Public ownership and control of transportation and natural resources.

3. Making our foreign policy cooperative instead of exploitive.

For state campaigns, I think that it is time to stress the land problem. I would suggest the following approximate wording of the planks:

Agriculture

1. America has become an industrialized nation with large amounts of surplus capital for export. This inevitably creates a demand for cheap raw material for food and clothing as well as for manufactures. The farmer, who is the backbone of the nation, is being exploited and encouraged to increase their plant and

are now suffering from an excessive

farm plant productive capacity and world-wide competition. Our present tariff policy is reducing the foreign markets for farm products with no commensurate advantage to farmers in this country. The Federal Government should abandon its present policy of fostering manufactures at the expense of agriculture and assume some of the indebtedness incurred by farmers in increasing their plants to meet wartime demands for farm products. It should also work out policy to conduct the management of farms to other occupations where surplus farmers can secure a reasonable return for their work.

2. Ownership of means of transportation by private capital has resulted in discrimination and is, at best, costly and wasteful. While freight rates on farm products should be reduced, adequate reduction cannot be effected where it is most needed. This situation can be remedied and equal transportation facilities without discrimination ensured only through unified operation of all the transportation lines of the country. This cannot be entrusted to any private agency. It is preeminently a government function.

Natural resources, such as coal, oil, and water power, have been not only monopolized but inefficiently and wastefully developed and operated. The nationalization of these resources, ownership of natural resources such as coal and iron ores, and a great corporation such as the United States Steel Corporation, an unfair advantage over competitors. These basic natural resources, includ-

ing water power, should be owned, developed and operated by the Federal Government for service in times of private profit.

Anti-Imperialist Program

3. America, in a few years, has changed from a debtor to a creditor nation largely as a result of the World War and developments since that time. It is inevitable that there should be some surplus capital for export. Our enlarged manufacturing interests demand access to raw materials needed in such industries wherever located. Hitherto our foreign policy has been dictated by selfish and speculative financial interests determined to exploit instead of to cooperate with most of the nations where this capital has been invested, particularly the natural resources and other raw material. An international allocation of natural resources and raw materials and an investigation of concessions Americans hold abroad, which should be subject of public record, are necessary to remove present dangerous causes of and incentives to warfare. Our tariff policy is a potent breeder of wars and should be changed particularly if we maintain our present program of compelling nations, with which our government has made loans, to repay them.

I think you are correct that there will not be any important Third Party movement in 1928 except as the Socialist Party makes it and, as you know, I am not a Socialist, but am always flattered and sometimes chagrined to be asked for suggestions from Socialists.

I think they can well concentrate upon some such program nationally, although of course they will, I assume, include a plank opposing the consumption taxes and the repeal of the federal estate tax and further reduction of taxes on large incomes.

Farmers and Workers Discuss Solution of Their Problems

Ridicules Farmers

For Being So Tame

By Emmet Miller (Gasconade, Missouri)

Mr. Farmer: If you have rheumatism carry a buckeye in your pocket as a remedy. If it is necessary for you to pass a grave yard after dark carry a rabbit's foot. It is better to let the rabbit's foot hang from your suspender buckle on the left side. The rabbit's foot is for the purpose of keeping the hoodoo away. To insure general good luck keep a horseshoe hanging over your barn door. Believe in these signs with religious faith and vote your old party ticket straight in order to maintain your good standing in your community. Do not say anything contrary to popular thought, and when the politician comes around in your neighborhood and spouts off his usual spew, it is your duty as a good citizen to gulp it down with a relish.

Do not become discouraged with the low prices you get for your farm produce nor complain if your boys and girls leave home to seek a better life. Do not complain if your rent is raised or the money lender demands a little more interest on his loan. You should remember that our banks are sacred institutions and are firmly protected by the state. Do not live under harder conditions by living within your means. Be more economical and don't buy such expensive clothes for your wife and children. Your old wheat sacks when they become leaky may be patched up and made into clothes for the little ones.

Caution your life and older daughters to be more economical in their cooking. Don't you remember how in time of the world war when our soldier boys were fighting in France to protect Morgan's millions and make the world safe for democracy that some of the society women of the country visited the working men's wives for the purpose of teaching them how to prepare dainty dishes from potato peelings? Profit by their good advice.

Keep your horses well shod and fed so they will work better. Do not prevent the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals from getting after you. It is quite a while till snow flies and your children can go bare footed for some time yet. A little cold won't hurt them. It will only make them appreciate the good things of life after they become able to earn them for themselves.

Do not covet thy neighbor's riches nor question his manner of obtaining his wealth. He may have started as a poor farm boy.

"Be not weary in well doing." When the preacher comes around it is your duty to give liberally to the church and to the preacher's up-keep, for it is through the church that we learn what becomes of the soul in the next world. You should absorb all that falls from the preacher's lips and you should not doubt nor question anything he says, for you know there has been a hell prepared for all those who do not believe.

"The child should be taught in the way it should go." Teach your children to believe that only an agrarian revolt has any chance to succeed in this country. If you don't believe Carter's yarns in his Readings in Agricultural Economics (an Ag College text-book), the Grange and the Populist movements are good examples of what may be done with the farmer.

Personally, I believe that the farmers should and could be organized in unions if they applied the principle of collective bargaining and kept their hands off the intricate field of retail-

ing at least at first. They do not know enough about legal dealing to run a cooperative retail business. But they can get together and make the retailer and wholesaler bid for their business and beat down the price in that way.

If they did this they could build up a fighting organization like the labor union, and if the labor union also applied the principle of collective bargaining to their living as consumers. Then the farmer and city worker, at last has common ground to stand on. The crying need in this country today is a common interest. This can only be found in the consumer and producer groups and you can easily market your products through it. When the city worker demands Dairylea milk and farmer union flour, the farmer will be glad to demand union make shirts and overalls.

Most radicals shout about the waste of modern business, but forget that practically all of this waste comes out of either the producer or the consumer. Hence does not affect the business. When the workers organize a cooperative, they can't pass the buck on to the private or corporate distributor does. That is the reason why collective bargaining, the consumer can pass the waste back to the dealer and the producers unions can do the same thing, then the present system would not be so profitable and we would have some chance to beat it.

When we buck the present system we need fighting organizations that are active every day of the year including election day. We will likely have to buy, vote and shoot our way to economic freedom if we ever get there. At any rate it is a good thing to have an organization that could function in one or all of these activities.

Oh, you wicked farmers! Why don't you stay at home and stop your hogs as you were advised by some politician speaking in North Dakota? and not be trying to manage the affairs of government of which you know nothing. Your place is on the farm raising corn and wheat, hogs and cattle. It is our business to manage the affairs of government and control the market.

Farmer Unions As Basis of Farmer And Labor Unity

By C. V. Hill (Rich Mountain, Arkansas)

I found the labor skates about N. Y. very hazy about the agricultural side of the labor movement. Most of them were of the opinion that food came like rain, that the American could not be educated into a potent revolutionary force, that he would be dragged along a dead-weight to the movement. I differ from them in that I believe that only an agrarian revolt has any chance to succeed in this country. If you don't believe Carter's yarns in his Readings in Agricultural Economics (an Ag College text-book), the Grange and the Populist movements are good examples of what may be done with the farmer.

Personally, I believe that the farmers should and could be organized in unions if they applied the principle of collective bargaining and kept their hands off the intricate field of retail-

ing at least at first. They do not know enough about legal dealing to run a cooperative retail business. But they can get together and make the retailer and wholesaler bid for their business and beat down the price in that way.

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Group Ownership Urged As Starter

H. G. Winniford (Dallas, Texas)

Believing that group ownership without political action, if discreetly applied, would be entirely practical, and that it is the natural forerunner of public ownership through political action, I want to make a plea for its consideration. The churches and other organizations have long since proved the practicality of group ownership of real estate, that is, land and buildings. We don't need any more church property, but we do need to own the store buildings we enter to buy our goods. Not that we would undertake to run a business, because that would lead to complications that might mean failure. Nor would we rent them out, because we are opposed to rents. We need the group ownership of our store buildings, because of the power it would give us over the merchant we buy our goods from.

With the building ours we could so completely regulate the profits as to leave little use of our owning the building at all. We would allow the merchant a house to do business in and possibly with living rooms attached. These without rent and the promise of our organized patronage would be great inducements, for which he could afford to have his profits shaved to the minimum. Under this arrangement it would be ourselves, the buyers of the goods, and not the seller, who would mark the prices thereon—a revolution in itself.

The beauty about the plan here described is that it can begin at any time in the simplest way and build slowly until the people understand it and the municipalities will be forced to take up the work.

Who will organize a Profit Control League?

Taxing Robbers No Cure for Robbery

H. J. Williams (Mt. Hope, Kansas)

The last letters on the money system are hard to beat, but not the end of all knowledge. Just the same the basis of all robbery is the recognized right of either private or public interests to exact profit in the exchange of goods. The money system comes first it is the base and should be considered first in dealing with remedies, if we are to expect lasting benefits.

Of course all forms of exploitation consist in the imposition of some kind of tax. Now a few wails about taxing systems. The worst form of tax is that imposed on the victim of the damnable system is like the man who was kicked by a mule. He knew he had been kicked, but didn't know which mule kicked him. I want to make an offer of \$25 to any one who can prove to the satisfaction of the public how the condition of the poor was ever ameliorated by taxing the rich and powerful.

Question

Can a government be run and meet all requirements in every particular without a tax on profit?—W. W. Moore, Henrietta, Okla.

Answer

Capitalist governments are run without direct taxes on profits and they seem to meet all the requirements of the capitalist class which runs them. In fact, the central purpose of capitalist governments is to get their revenues from sources that will interfere as little with private profits as possible. Where private profits are taxed in any way or interfered with, it is done in fear of popular clamor.

As to whether or not such a system is just or equitable is a different question. However, an attempt to remedy conditions by taxing profit is useless as profit taking is based on the control of government by the profit-takers. Profit itself is a tax of the most baneful and destructive kind on production and exchange. Any government tax on private profits would revert to the consumers, as the profit-takers possess the power of adding such tax to the price of the goods. This would leave the private profit as large as before. The only remedy is to eliminate profit altogether by building up a cooperative and publicly owned system that would operate for service and not for profit.

A Mississippi court has ruled that Chinese may not attend white schools, thus saving the white race and revealing the real nature of southern democracy.

Shades of Jefferson! America has saved another European military dictatorship by loaning Pilsudski of Poland \$75,000,000.

Rather than delay legislation, the democrats have agreed to the seating of the wholesale corruptionists, Vard of Pennsylvania and Frank L. Smith of Illinois in the senate. All the democratic wags was wild. Corruption does not back them any more than it does the Republicans.

Says China Revolution Is Dead, But Will Live Again

Anna Louise Strong

(American Newspaper Woman)

The Chinese revolution is dead for the present, though no one doubts that it will be born again. It has been killed from within by its own members, the ones it had acquired, but not absorbed in its progress northward.

Don't let your mind be affected too much by the movements of troops around Peking. It is not overly important now whether Chiang Kai-Shek and Feng Yu-Hsiang, just separated by or in collision with (Cheng Tso-Lin, enter that city). The all-important fact just now is that everywhere in China the military is detaching the civilians expelling people from the Kuomintang, killing peasants and labor leaders. The counter-revolution is swinging into its stride and may have full control when you read these lines.

Hankow was lost to go. For months, under the threat of foreign gunboats and armies in all directions, they kept a tight flame of civil power which I failed to bow to ruthlessly. But now that all the fighting has ceased, they have taken the place of reaction from within. It is what I have been seeing all week in Hunan.

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen is a brave woman, braver than almost any man in China.

She has left Hankow, making a public statement that its government was of fear is forsaking the revolution. Dr. Sun is sacrificing the welfare of the peasants to the expediency of placating soldiers, and that she is retiring, unwilling to take part in counter-revolution and suppression. Five Chinese and one English daily were suppressed for printing her statement, or rather for attempting to print it. But she has done a very great thing. She has made it impossible for a group of militarists to ride into power, calling themselves by the name of Dr. Sun's revolution, and depriving the people of hopelessness. Now there is hope again for the future, but not the future this year.

Not kill him himself, of course, but

And yet, in the midst of Hunan, village and house by house, to "enter" and communists.

To kill any who have taken part in the peasant movement, I feel a greater admiration for the Chinese people than I have ever felt before. Even the broken fragments of this peasant's movement, the ones it had acquired, but not absorbed in its progress northward.

Let me give part of the tale of Rev. Mr. Schindewolf, a German pastor of the China Inland Mission, living in the tiny town of Yungfong, in the heart of Hunan province.

"The land around Yungfong," he said to me, "is owned chiefly by 10 to 12 large families, who lease to other farmers, for half the rice crop. They have great warehouses of rice which they hold till the fifth, sixth and seventh months, when the poor have eaten all their rice and the price goes up. Sometimes they close their warehouses till the poor clamor at the doors with hunger, then they open and sell very dear, or lend to be repaid three hundred fold after harvest."

"This year, however, we had the peasants' union. Every village was organized. (The truly marvelous thing is that in half a year, some 10,000,000 peasants in Hunan province alone signed up as members of this union.) In Yungfong was a central union for 20 miles around; in Hsinhsien was the district center 35 miles away on Siangsiang. Every village of four or five miles would be a local union under Yungfong. The head of the Yungfong union were Long and Li, two tenant farmers of good reputation and standing. But some of the local unions were less good; one union leader in Hsinhsien was responsible for the death of a rich man who refused to pay tribute. He did not kill him himself, of course, but

sent him with accusations to the people's court in Siangsiang, which killed him."

"The peasants' union arrested each of these rich families and demanded from them money and rice. They had with each one rice enough for all the family and servants and retainers till harvest, but the rest they were promising to repay it found for pounds in rice, in the eighth month, after harvest. They had 1,000 pounds of rice (125,000 pounds) stored in the big warehouse next our mission. Every day they took out 20 pounds (2,500 pounds) and sold it by half pounds to poor people. To buy this rice at low prices, you must be on a list. My two servants were on the list, but I could not be on it, as I am not considered poor."

"The money from the sale of rice they used in part to start schools for poor children. It was a rule that every child must go to school. This only lasted two months till the union was broken, and I do not know how many children were reached, but a great many certainly. These schools will be open again, for the money to run them was taken from the rich man's rice."

The good Rev. Mr. Schindewolf considered the peasants' action criminal, since obviously the rice belonged to the rich man.

But he agreed that the peasants had a very remarkable organization, and some good aims. Personally, I am absolutely thunderstruck with the fact that in these distant towns, such activity could be got under way in six months' time, with food distribution in many stations (the organization to Yungfong was only 20 miles away) and with lists of names, schools, etc.

Some people say that all this suffering is useless. I thought myself till I came here that perhaps the Nationalist armies came north to first, absorbing too much.

But Hunan convinced me otherwise. The northward drive may perhaps have destroyed the Kuomintang by incorporating into it so many seeking generals. But it has aroused the peasantry—all the peasants south of the Yangtze. Then the revolution next comes, under a reorganized Kuomintang or a new party, it will not be a mere cry of anti-imperialism. It will be a positive, conscious fight for "People's Power," meaning both political and economic power of the organized masses.

A thoughtful Chinese observer in Hunan told me that the "red" and all their sins had done four very good things:

1. The peasant who was a slave is awake now to the belief that he himself, through organization, can change things.

2. The peasant who saw no connection between politics and economics is now passionately interested in self-government.

3. Large numbers of illiterate have learned to read, and all the illiterate have learned to believe that education is the right of every child.

4. The women are awake. No wife last year would not go out the street, but now the organized women's exchange with 40 members and runs a cooperative shop of products.

Such results are great ones to have been brought with the amount of evil and suffering in Hunan, which has been so much indeed in comparison with other peasant revolts of history.

WHEN A COOPERATIVE HANDLES AN ENTIRE COMMODITY

In the marketing of one commodity in America—walnuts—there is almost a 100 per cent cooperative organization. It is extremely interesting to note the effect of a cooperative handling an entire product, even in monopoly-ridden America. Here is what B. C. Forbes in the Chicago Herald and Examiner says about the success of this cooperative, which is almost a trust in the complete way it covers a commodity.

California produces 97 1/2 per cent of all United States walnuts, and the California Walnut Growers' Association has 4,819 members crates and packs and distributes more than 85 per cent of the crop at a distribution cost of only 5 1/2 per cent. This cost includes trade discount, sales agents' commission, nationwide advertising, salaries, rents, etc.

The walnut producers receive two-thirds of the consumer's dollar—a tremendous contrast with what most food producers receive. An ingenious machine brands each walnut of the first grade at a cost of 1 cent per twenty pounds, or thirty times as cheaply as the nuts could be packed in the simplest half-pound container.

The marketing of a product at a cost of only 5 1/2 per cent is simply unheard of in America. That the producers get two-thirds of the consumer's dollar is just as remarkable. Under private distribution agencies in this country commodities pass through so many needless hands all bent on adding as much as possible to the cost of marketing that the producer seldom gets over 20 or 30 per cent of the consumer's dollar.

If the other commodities were handled cooperatively in this way we would have a cooperative commonwealth and would see an elimination of waste, graft and robbery that would be almost beyond belief. We want more trusts like the walnut trust—trusts owned and operated by the real producers and consumers. We want fewer trusts like the money trust and the farm machinery trust—trusts owned by absentee investors, who are bleeding the real producers and workers to death.